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ABSTRACT

Participant-observer and case study research designs were used during the course of a 17-month-long study that sought (1) to determine the influence of sense of audience on the writing processes of eight adolescent boys and (2) to develop and explore effective research procedures that might provide insights into the writing processes and emphasize the potential relationship between good teaching and research. The case studies revealed that audience awareness had the effect of directing the subjects' dependence away from an individually devised, inconsistent, and confusing "trusted strategem," to a willingness to learn conventional strategies. In addition, it influenced the writers to draw on their expressive language, encouraged them to interrelate the entire range of language functions, enhanced the fluency of writing to facilitate a sense of two-way language convergence that paralleled the subjects' oral language situations, fostered the subjects' individual interests in extending their language use, and promoted and strengthened the interrelationships between the expressive language function and content incorporation. Another important discovery was that none of the boys construed their respective teachers as being genuine readers or real people with whom they were making contact through writing. (HOD)

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THE INFLUENCE OF SENSE OF AUDIENCE ON THE WRITING PROCESSES OF EIGHT ADOLESCENT BOYS

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Background to the Study

For 15 years I had taught adolescents courses in English, Drama, Reading, Wrestling, and Volleyball. I had travelled literally around the world with them, worked for and with them, played with them, and learned from them. I had seen them in classes, on the street, in their homes, in situations both formal and casual. And while they never failed to surprise me I was seldom more surprised than when an orally-competent, even skilfull 16 year-old would write:

> In our modern socity today, every one processes the same equal right to whatever which is legality.

It did not matter whether the writer could demonstrate competence in the vernacular, whether he was proficient in an all-out argument, or could tell a joke with marvellous dexterity: if he wrote in Standard English without proficiency he was, in my classes and in the large majority of his others, an academic and intellectual failure, no matter how hard he tried to make his intelligence felt:

> Young people show differential ideas toward there outlook on life and there happiness as having all its parts or elements.

And no matter how hard I or my colleagues tried, we were consistently failing to teach our students how to write without the pain of embarassment or, at best, to write with the sort of ease and enjoyment reflected in their talk. Most of us just shook our heads and persevered with methods often supported by research, but nevertheless ineffective.

Ironically, it was a 17 year-old boy, whose writing confirmed his failure for all his teachers and mates, who demonstrated to me the real depth of the problem our students were facing. In an assigned attempt to evaluate his coursework and personal progress through a review of his journal writing, Tony worked for 1½ hours to say:

> this person in qwegon is named tony, He likes the sun he's is allways talking about the wether when it is summing out

> he is in a good moud. he seemes to be experience broblems in most of he classes it sounds like he and he's teacher are not on speecing trerms. He notes are a mess harter any order. but thing sem to get beter as they go. He seems to like to play sports mostly contaked rugby and football, he does not have a lot of confidence in he school work. He's writing are not the best Ive seen, He work in school is so differnent from the thing he say about sports he very wereyed about what people say about him. Writing is not hes favorit thing in most of he gornal the first time say and I quite this famus words (I do not feel like writing!) he work has improved 100 percent.

Tony was representative of a large number of students, many of whom wrote considerably better than he did if accuracy was to be the criterion of measurement, but with no greater confidence, fluency, or genuine enjoyment. So what was it that we, as classroom teachers, were doing so wrong that the large body of available research could put right?

A consideration of the research literature on writing, however, showed that researchers were not addressing themselves to the real problems as we were facing them, or, at least, not in ways that could help me help my students: somehow the research failed to convince me as a classroom teacher that researchers were working with real kids and with real language in action. Further, the promise inherent in the enthusiastic response to Janet Emig's stimulating work in 1971, that process was finally going to be given serious attention, did not materialize. In its place we were given more methods and gimmicks that, if they worked at all, only enhanced the surface performance of those already successful as writers in classes, enabling them more to pass exams than become writers. We have, therefore, yet to witness a universal attempt to get to the heart of the nature of writing; we have as yet to encourage actual classroom teachers to enter the fray and share their context-based experiences and ideas about the problems of learning how to write.

It was in this context that I turned my own energies as a classroom teacher to answering three basic questions:

> 1.How might classroom teachers conduct research into the writing of their own students?
> 2. Is the nature of the written language system intrinsically so unlike the oral system that we should expect students to find it drammatically more difficult to learn than their oral language?
> 3. Does having someone to write to who is genuine in his interest in

being a communicating partner make any difference to the ease with which writing may be learned or developed?

Design of the Study: Interventionist Case Study

I wanted to know more about the problems with writing that real teachers and real students in actual classrooms faced everyday. The traditional empirical research design approaches available as models were simply not adequate to meet this demand: in virtually every study on writing reported the attempt by the researcher to decontextualize seemed to meet the demands more strictly of science and less of teachers and students. As Donald Graves (1980:9) pointed out:

> Research in education is not a science. We cannot transfer science procedures to social events and processes. We are not speaking of corn, pills or chemicals when we speak of what people do when they write . . . . Research about writing must be suspect when it ignores context or process . . . . Devoid of context, the data becomes sterile. One of the reasons teachers have rejected research information for so long is that they have been unable to transfer faceless data to the alive, inquiring faces of the children they teach each morning.

Mischler (1979:2) also writes forcefully of the need to base our research in the real world of teachers and students, arguing that the only place we will discover meaningful insights into student behavior is in the actual context of operation, not the laboratory.

Graves' and Mischler's arguments have long been tacitly understood by many classroom teachers who are seemingly too caught up in the daily and long-term rigors of classroom work to become active researchers themselves. The problem, then, seems to be that an individual can only be one or the other, teacher or researcher, at any given moment. Graves (1980:11) underlines how important it is, however, that we resolve the existing paradox if we are to gain insights into the writing process:

> Writing research must involve the fullest possible contexts in the 80's. We can no longer have experimental or retrospective studies that move in with treatments of short duration, or that speculate on child growth and behaviors through a mere examination of written products alone. Contexts must be broadened to include closer and longer looks at children while they are writing. These contexts must be

described in greater detail.

The need is urgent to identify a new and essential role in research for the classroom teacher; as we strive to articulate it, a new paradigm that will govern the shape and nature of all educational research in language development will thereby emerge. As Janet Emig (1980:5) argues:

> By definition, the paradigm is a social phenomenon, a way of thought shared by a group of scientific workers. As the work proceeds difficulties typically accumulate--observations that do not fit expectations, previously unnoticed theoretical weaknesses that come to light. Eventually, the increasing weight of these difficulties produces a sense of crisis, and a phase of revolutionary scientific activity erupts, leading to the emergence of a new structure of ideas.

And she concludes that "the pre-paradigmatic stage is the phase of revolution-scientific activity. In writing research, I would suggest, we are at this stage". Such arguments as Emig's, Graves', Magoon's (1977), Wilson's (1977), Stubbs' (1980), Garfinkle's (1967), and others for a new approach to research have been gaining attention for well over a decade now. Yet, while their arguments have gained momentum, to date little research has actively taken up the cry for genuine context-based studies: while the trend is to talk about context-based research, the tendency is still to linger around the edges of the real worlds of 'research subjects'. George Kelly (1970:23) gives the issue a certain poignancy when he states that:

> Ordinarily, if I wanted to play the game by the rules of objectivity, I would not stoop to ask you outright whether or not my description of your actions was correct; the noises you might make in reply could be taken in so many different ways I can be sure of being a 'scientist' only if I stick to what can be confirmed. Being a 'Scientist' may be so important to me that I dare not risk sullying myself with your delusions. I shall therefore play my part and retain my membership in Sigma Xi by referring to your reply as a 'vocal response' of a 'behaving organism'. HELLO THERE, BEHAVING ORGANISM!

My intention was therefore to continue with and to exploit my role and experience as a classroom teacher in an attempt to conduct research that would yield meaningful and clear conclusions relevant to the teaching context. In addressing my thoughts to the problems inherent in such an approach, and having no established models upon which to base my work, I adapted the techniques of Participant-Observer and Case Study research designs

in an approach called Interventionist Case Study. In general, the approach called for a genuine teaching assignment in an actual school setting, for a substantial period of time, with a manageable number of students.

As will be explained later in greater detail, I located a school willing to let me perform both as a classroom teacher and as a researcher for a period of nearly 18 months. The situation proved to be both exciting and of considerable benefit to myself, my student/subjects, and the school as a whole.

Once established as a teacher conducting research into writing, I addressed myself to the following problems:

1. Development of a classroom context suitable to the needs of my research and my students' academic/personal development;
2. Development of a concept of Sense of Audience that would be more appropriate to the richer context of the classroom than had been previously developed for programmatic research needs;
3. Development of a concept of the nature of writing that would take into account a wider range of communicative and functional possibilities previously associated primarily with speech;
4. Development of a teaching/research process that would enable both the observation and realization of writing development in the classroom.

Accordingly, I developed a number of research tools and conditions which I found to be appropriate to the demands of my research, namely:

1. The design itself: Interventionist Case Study;
2. An extended concept of Sense of Audience;
3. A more complete concept of Written Language than had been used in previous studies, including the development or adaptations of the following sub-concepts of writing (explained here only in part):
    a) Plateauing (the apparent, lengthy cessation of development);
    b) Thresholding (incomplete assimilation of social context into Self);
    c) Convergence (attempt to render one's language similar to others');
    d) Vacillation; (imminent development of a feature of writing system);
    e) Authentic Communication (genuine attempt to communicate).
4. The adaptation of journals as dialogues-in-writing.

In conclusion, the heart of my research design for pursuing the question of the influence of Sense of Audience in writing was my role as a genuine classroom teacher and the rich context of activity to which that introduced me. Of particular importance was the amount and variety of student writing that I could ellicit from my subjects under the conditions inherent in my design, procedures, and activities.

Formal Aims of the Study

Out of my three guiding questions, referred to earlier, I developed the following Principal Aims:

1. To determine the influence of Sense of Audience on the writing processes of adolescents;
2. To develop and explore effective research procedures which:
   a) provide insights into the writing processes, particularly in terms of Sense of Audience;
   b) emphasize the potential relationship between good teaching and sound research that may be bound together in the role of the teacher.

Seven Subsidiary Aims were also developed and explored to a lesser degree:

1. To appraise the effectiveness of the use of journals in teaching writing;
2. To determine and relate what students feel about writing as a language medium, and how those feelings affect writing development and use;
3. To appraise the students' construction of the teacher in pupil-teacher communication, especially in writing;
4. To determine how or whether success in one function of written expression may influence development in another;
5. To observe, where possible, whether there are relationships between a student's everyday use of oral language and his use of written language;
6. To record which functions of writing students would adopt if given a free choice in the matter;
7. To determine what uses of writing students perceive and either accept or reject as being important or useful to themselves.

While the constraint of space will not permit me to address myself fully to the Subsidiary Aims, I should point out that attempts to realize them in the daily course of my research/teaching activities convinced me of their importance as Principal Aims in subsequent research.

What is the Nature of Writing?

My first task was to explore the literature for a concept of writing that would serve to answer my objections to the traditional views held implicitly or stated overtly by researchers in Education generally and Linguistics particularly. What follows is a brief tracing of my theoretical explorations into the nature of writing.

At first glance, and in light of its importance in Education, it would seem paradoxical that we have not satisfactorily answered or even fully explored this question. However, the very real lack of attempts to address

the question over the years is tied to the strictly utilitarian and elitist functions that have been ascribed to written language. That is, written language has not been viewed as having the same measure of relationship with the individual as has speech, which has recieved considerable attention at the expense of writing.

Linguistics, for example, has long provided us with a model that emerged from that field's preoccupation with speech, a preoccupation that has witnessed a peculiar confusion and tangling of concepts concerning the structure of language in general, and writing in particular. That confusion stems in large from the seminal work and influence of de Saussure and arises out of the fact that the linguists' interest in the structural nature of the spoken language has been necessarily bound up with written expression. That is, linguists have faced the problem of the transcience of the spoken word by 'freezing' it in its written form, and by considering the latter the true representation of the former. Consequently, written language itself has suffered from a lack of direct attention and interest, for linguists considered it to be strictly and merely the symbolic structure for the spoken language. Hence, the particular nature of written language, with all its different characteristics, was effectively and perhaps unwittingly ignored. As teachers, we were left to draw the conclusion that in dealing with writing we were really dealing with form and surface structure. Indeed, Bloomfield (Stubbs, 1980:24) himself stated that "Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks". This is surely the unacceptable image of a lifeless language, of stasis, of a form of language simply unable to bear the weight of living meanings.

By and large, what linguistics has failed to do is to establish the relationship between social interaction and language acquisition and use. That is, linguistics has failed to establish the view of language in general and writing in particular as a social process.

That seems such a simple thing to say that surely it can not be important or true that we have ignored it so entirely for so long. Yet, the evidence abounds, for as Earl Buxton said of Emig's work only 11 years ago:

> This report describes an expedition into new territory, an investigation of the writing process. This is an area hitherto almost untouched by researchers in written composition who by and large focussed their attention upon the written product. (Emig, 1971:v)

However, Emig did not develop her concept of writing as fully as she might have, for she was interested more in the problems of young writers producing written forms than the social relationships that give rise to the processing in the first place and which probably generate its shapes, styles, and particular functions. To follow up on Emig's work, then, is to further extend the view of writing and thus incorporate its social context into its nature.

The problem inherent in the ubiquitous and pervasive view of writing as a dead language seemed to have its solution in the notion of the functions of language. Halliday, Moffett, and Britton had already begun to look at language in general in terms of function, yet the tendency before 1970 was still to separate speech and writing entirely, giving the former the social basis that was yet being denied for writing. However, James Britton et al (1975) finally gave written language its social foundation, and their work on written language functions led me to the importance not only of writing as social language, but more particularly to the complementary concept of Sense of Audience.

Britton's model of language functions has become very well known and the constraints of this paper do not permit as thorough an exploration of his views as they warrant. However, it should be said that it was particularly his notion of Expressive Language that informed my work and which I have elaborated on in the course of developing further his and Rosen's concept of Sense of Audience.

It is Britton's emphasis on function in language that makes his work so useful in attempts to understand why children seem to have problems learning how to write in schools. As Halliday states:

> If we consider . . . the linguistic system itself, we find that the adult language displays certain features which can only be interpreted in functional terms. These are found, naturally, in the area of meaning: the semantic system of the adult language is very clearly functional in its composition. It reflects the fact that language has evolved in the service of certain particular human needs. But what is really significant is that this functional principle is carried over and built into the grammar, so that the internal organization of the grammatical system is also functional in character. (Halliday, 1975:16)

In summary, Britton emphatically states that writing is best seen from a

functional point of view. But there is a serious danger in leaving it at that. As the work of Olson (1977), Bereiter (1979) and Scardamalia (1979) shows, it is easy to construe written language as being autonomous in nature as well as functional. However, to extol its apparent autonomous nature is to deny not only its social roots but its continual dependence on the social situation. This latter condition for writing use and development is perhaps the least understood and discussed aspect of its nature. The consequent failure to take its pervasive social dynamism into consideration has, I believe, led us into the very plight teachers and students find themselves in today.

The problem is that we have construed writing as undergoing its crucial and essential processes at the wrong point, on the printed page rather than in the human mind, largely because we are reluctant to talk of things that we can not see. Therein lay the significance of the concept of Sense of Audience: it serves well as a window on the mind and through it we can better see the way in which writing works.

Sense of Audience

Before elaborating on its nature, I will provide the foundation upon which Sense of Audience rests and operates.

Self

It is paramount to remember, as so much discussion of language does not, that it is the human individual that discovers, develops, and uses the writing system. Therefore, we must always begin with the awareness that writing is a manifestation of the individual Self. It can be no less than that, and as such it lacks credibility to say that writing is an autonomous linguistic phenomenon, for in saying so, we are really stating that the individual must learn to extricate himself from its machinations to achieve mastery of the system. That makes it a dead system and therefore is to deny all we have learned about language for the sake of giving expeditious order to our understanding of written language. And it is that very expediency that has led students to experience the separation of themselves from their writing system, a separation that they do not experience with their speech. If they did, they would all be rendered mute.

Self is a social concept and is therefore dependent largely upon the

language process for its existence and state of being. That means that Self is a function both of an individual's internal states and external social influences, the two of which are united as Self by the individual's language system and use. Language is the means by which the individual may represent his Self both to himself and his external world of Others. In this sense, then, animals without a language do not have Selves, making Self predominantly a human phenomenon.

Self is, then, an aspect of one's private and public domain, a condition which is as full of problems as it is necessary. As a thing separated from one's outer world, Self strive's for stability; as a thing separate from one's inner world, it is subject to the external influences and pressures of a real world to which it must respond by making accomodating shifts and adjustments in its own nature. Such shifting and adjusting is essentially the achievement of one's personal/social language system which is responsible for the measure of flexibility characteristic of the Self.

In that sense, then, Self is a state of personal awareness and a basic frame of reference for the individual in his selection, evaluation, and organization of experience. The necessary connection between Self and Language simply may not be broken, for they exist in a state of necessary unity and cohesion: Language pervades the Self, gives rise to the Self, and is a function of the Self and we may really not see the one without sensing the essence of the other. That condition for language and Self becomes of paramount concern when we begin our considerations, later, of the kind of writing, of the use to which language is put, in schools.

And that brings me back to the earlier position that I adopted concerning language in general and writing in particular: Language is a social process. The significance of that may now be further pursued and elaborated upon through a discussion and delineation of Self's counterpart, the 'Other'.

Other

Other is simply those with whom I have experience in my life, in my world and theirs. But it does little for us to think of Others only as those out in the world beyond us. For the worm, the dog, and all those beasts without language, Others do remain outside and beyond. But for me and for you, for

we have language, Others enter into our private worlds along with the words, sentences, phrases and utterances which we have acquired from them. As we acquired and adopted their language, as we brought it within the framework of our own beings, so did we bring them, our Others. Other therefore becomes, as language, an integral part of the Self. Other, that is, is really 'their' Selves, aspects of their nature which we necessarily adopt as we adopt their language.

But we not only adopt language; we also adapt it. We adapt language to suit our needs, our perceptions, our experiences with all aspects of our environment. Yet, we can only adapt within the framework of social tolerance (which is itself forever changing), so in spite of all our adaptations, we remain for one another recognizable in our nature, in our Selves, in our language.

We adopt Other and adapt Other and so change the very nature of both our language and our Selves. The three are intricately woven into a generally cohesive and dynamic entity with which we encounter and extend the world, and in this state of dynamic tension it is language which serves to make manifest the relationship that the individual, through his Self, has with his inner and outer world.

What is Sense of Audience?

First, a distinction should be made here between Sense of Audience and Audience. The latter term may be taken to refer to a writer's intended external audience, known or unknown, and which may or may not affect the writer at 'arm's length'. That is, it remains a matter of choice for the writer whether an external audience will affect a change in his writing, in his articulation and inclusion of ideas or manner of expression. A writer may ignore an audience that is external to himself. Sense of Audience, on the other hand, is intended to refer to the assimilation and organization of the attitudes of members (particular or general) of an individual's community of Others, whether actual or ideal, unto the Self. Assimilated audiences, therefore, are integral to every decision an individual makes by virtue of their incorporation within the very fabric of the Self: they may not be ignored, for they are the voices one hears when he talks to himself, however quietly he does so.

By Sense of Audience I am really making reference both to Self and to

Other and to the Language which is common to both: Sense of Audience is the term which I use to indicate the dynamic state which results from the particular union of Language, Self, and Other. It is, significantly, the breath of life for language. Put another way, it is what gives the writer the sense that in his private act of putting words on a page or in just 'making them up' in his head, he is having a part in a living dialogue.

Sense of Audience, like Language, like Self, is developmental in nature. Essentially, that means that it grows out of the particular and develops towards the abstract and the general. As the process of social interaction begins for the individual, from birth, so does the process of 'taking in', of assimilating particular instances of exchanges with Others into an internalized body of social experiences which ultimately become a cohesive construct of what social experience means for the individual. That construct may be referred to as the Generalized Other, as Mead (1934) refers to it, and should be seen as the mosaic of all one's experiences with particular Others. More importantly, it should be seen as the means by which one predicts the events and consequences of events in his world, on the social plane at least. It is the tacit influence on the language and life of an individual by the Generalized Other that I refer to as Sense of Audience.

At any given moment, a writer's Sense of Audience is all that he has to serve his needs in giving shape in words to his ideas and experiences. He may then edit his work to better suit the special needs of his external or more demanding audiences. On the other hand, when the writing is going well, he is drawing on his tacit social/linguistic relationship with those Others now incorporated as his Sense of Audience. During these moments, it is right to say that he is writing to himself; it is wrong to say he is solitary in his activity.

Let us become more specific now about the nature of Sense of Audience, for it should be clear that we may associate or assign a value to the quality of one's Sense of Audience, at least in broad general terms. What happens, for example, to that Other we encounter and assimilate who intimidates and renders us anywhere from stammering inarticulate to mute?

The Different Kinds of Sense of Audience

Put simply, those Others we encounter and assimilate fall somewhere along a line of continuum that runs from an Enabling to an Inhibiting Sense of Audience. If we are faced, in the extreme, with only an Inhibiting collection

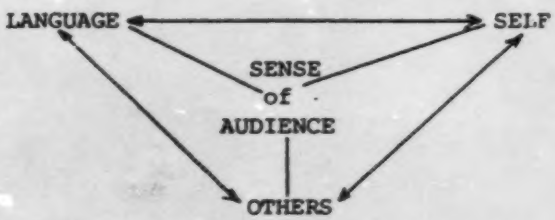
of Others, if our Sense of Audience consists only of negative influences on our willingness and capacity to create utterances, then it is likely that we will remain silent: the terrible noise that one must hear in the privacy of the mind must surely be unbearable then. At the other extreme, we must as surely babble on with little regard for that part of meaning that is the child of shape and convention.

It is likely that Sense of Audience may serve the spoken language somewhat apart from its influence on the written. In this case, a preponderance of Inhibiting Others associated with writing may well render an individual illiterate while his repetoire of Enabling Others associated with his oral world may well make him a pleasing and willing partner in dialogue. The implications that this may have for student/teacher relationships appear far-reaching and is a matter which clearly warrants careful consideration beyond the confines of this article.

In summary, then, Sense of Audience should be considered in the following ways:

1. It is the internalized force that gives the combination of Language, Self, and Other its state of dynamic tension;
2. It is developmental in nature, dependent on the nature, frequency, and consequences of an individual's interaction with other people;
3. It may have an Inhibiting or Enabling effect on the language processes of the individual;
4. It may serve different aspects of language acquisition, use, and form in different ways.

In diagrammatic form, Sense of Audience may be seen thus:



The intention of the diagram is to indicate the effect that Sense of Audience has on the other three components of the unit. Primarily, the lines connecting Sense of Audience to the others are lines of tension which serve to help keep the units in a stable relationship under conditions of dynamic

change. In this sense, Sense of Audience may be considered the heart of the social/linguistic corpus.

Discussion

It is likely that the teacher who provides writing activities solely for the purpose of course examination is likely to become a most forceful, effective, and intimidating Inhibiting Audience whose pervasive effect will be to restrict the development and use of written language for his students even after direct association with him has long ceased. On the other hand, the teacher who genuinely employs writing activities , who encourages and reflects the use of writing for meaningful communication with and between his students is likely to become for those students a forceful, effective, and welcoming Enabling Audience. The great majority of us fall somewhere along that line of continuum between those two extremes and at a point different for each student.

Finally, the ubiquitous nature of Sense of Audience in the writing process renders attempts to reduce written language activities to mechanical non-social operations extremely counterproductive. In the case of Tony, whose writing I presented at the beginning of the paper, it appears that such an approach over a long period of time was also destructive of his self-concept and social image: you will recall one of his opening comments, ". . . sounds like he and he's teacher are not on speecing trerms".

It was, then, with this concept of Sense of Audience and with the view that writing is social language, that I proceeded to locate and develop my research base, subjects, and activities. I will now turn to a description of these aspects of my work.

The Base of Operations

I located a secondary school in London, England, whose Head Master and English Deaprtment Head were enthusiastic about research. I negotiated a situation with them in which I would function as an authentic classroom teacher of a limited number of students over a period of 17 months, or approximately two full terms, from 1979-1981. In exchange for my services as a teacher, I was to have the academic freedom and access to school resources necessary to my research.

During that period of 17 months, I functioned as a member of the school teaching staff, participated in a wide range of professional and social activities, team-taught with other teachers in their classes, and, in essence, made my presence and research part of the daily scene of the school. As a consequence, my research activities drew both interest and cooperation from a wide range of teachers, many of whom adopted several of my research/teaching techniques for their own courses, and advised me of ways to improve and enhance my own classroom effectiveness. In all, whatever anxiety I had felt from the outset about being an alien figure in the school were abated quickly once the staff and students perceived that I was genuine in my endeavor to match my interest in research with industry in teaching.

The Research Subjects

An extensive in-depth discussion of the sort provided in my original study may clearly not be offered here. Nevertheless, it is important to provide a sense of the human context in which I operated in my double role as researcher/teacher.

First contact with the eight boys of this study was in November, 1979 and final direct contact was June, 1981. (I am maintaining contact with them at present through the mail as an extension of my work with them in London). They were originally part of a larger group of mixed-ability and mixed-race English students who were being taught by a first-year teacher who was having difficulties dealing with the range of abilities and behavior problems in her crowded class. In response to my offer to take on the teaching of eight of the class, a number I felt would offer me variety without being unmanageable, she and the Department head agreed on eight boys who represented the widest possible cross-section of students, ranging from serious behavior problems to the most academically astute and interested in the class. They felt that in each case these boys, ranging in age from 14 to 16, would benefit from being in a smaller group. The fact that they selected boys was part coincidence and part necessity in light of the preponderance of males in the class. In light of previous work in writing that I had done (1975) with female subjects, I saw this as being acceptable and interesting.

When I met with the boys for the first time, in what was to become our regular meeting place for the first seven months, I attempted to make my role as clear as possible: interest in conducting research into their writing was discussed at length and no attempt was made to disguise interests, needs, or

general projected methods. However, it was also made clear that juxtaposed to the research role was the role of classroom teacher that carried with it all the responsibilities and advantages of that designation. The boys were quick and enthusiastic to point out, though, that the situation seemed a special one, and no attempt was made to deny that. Indeed, the uniqueness of the situation was seen as an interesting and fortunate circumstance of which we would all attempt to make the most.

Our initial meetings, held in regular 70-minute classes three days a week, were given to determining basic routines and to discussing my Canadian life-style, for they were clearly curious about my background. The prime interest of the group was to get to know one another, with the focus being our respective natures and backgrounds. Out of this essential interest and need grew the particular use of journals in which we were to have private dialogues-in-writing, and the first written exchange entitled 'I am the one who. . .' which provided me with my first direct contact with the boys' writing and they with mine.

The tone and atmosphere of the class was generally friendly and noisy. Although the boys were not close friends outside of school hours, with the exception of two of them, they seemed ready and able to converse with one another about football, (their prime area of interest), and any special events of the day or week. I often found it difficult to calm the boys down in my teacherly attempts to provide focus for each lesson or activity. However, they were generally cooperative, and willingly directed their attentions away from what appeared often to be disjointed chatter, to writing in their daily journals, the content of which was the prime focus of the study's analysis of their writing.

Research/Teaching Activities

The following list is a summary of those activities which are most relevant to the research. However, I also undertook to be involved with the boys in a rich and diverse number of ways. We attended football matches, saw West-end plays, spent evenings together in our respective homes, and toured London's attractions together. We were, of course, also caught up in the normal and often tedious routines of teaching, evaluating, counselling, disciplining, and so on. I observed many of their other classes and participated in discussions about the boys, as the need arose, with teacher committees whose task was to deal with student problems. Our culminating activity was the realization of a trip to Canada which highlighted both the year and several of the boys' lives,

for some had never been out of London before, one had never left the confines of his immediate community. I will elaborate somewhat more on the outcome of the trip later in the paper, for its effect on their writing was most interesting.

Our classroom work focussed on four distinct activities designed to facilitate my research needs regarding writing and to fulfill my obligations as a classroom teacher:

1. Daily journal writing;
2. Projects and lessons in literature and language;
3. Assistance with work in other courses;
4. A major group project.

Of these four, the daily journal warrants discussion here, for it was largely out of this activity that others developed and that I selected writing samples from which I drew my conclusions about Sense of Audience and writing development.

Daily Journals: Dialogues-in-Writing

As indicated by Marion Crowhurst (1979), the central problem of doing research in Sense of Audience is being able to determine precisely which audience it is that the subject has in mind when involved in writing. Previous studies (such as Kroll, 1979) have failed to either attend to or solve this problem successfully.

To overcome the problem in this study, I employed the use of daily written journals as the prime writing activity of the group and established the format as a dialogue-in-writing between myself and the eight boys. We each kept a journal, each of the boys sharing theirs only with me while I made mine available to each of them in turn. We wrote back and forth to one another in the journals and thereby accomplished three significant things with them: first, they enabled me to know with as much certainty as may be possible who the audience was that the boys had in mind when writing; secondly, they created the oppportunity to establish writing as serving useful, interesting, and personal ends; thirdly, it enabled me as a teacher to have substantial, close, and direct contact with the boys. As a researcher, the very nature of writing enabled me to postphone my considerations of the product and to achieve a necessary measure of distance for purposes of analysis.

The use of journals proved to be of exceptional value: I was able to observe the writing process while simultaneously being a genuine participant in the endeavor, thus achieving a large measure of sensitivity to its intentions and accomplishments. This is particularly so given the long period

of continuous time during which we maintained the journals. The concept of Interventionist Case Study research achieved its height of usefulness, credibility, and efficiency in this continuing activity and in the analysis of all other writing activities conducted.

Several of the boys extended their writing activities from the journals to other generic forms and functions, but none were used for evaluative purposes for course performance. That is, no grades or marks were either demanded or given, leaving us free to use our writing for the legitimate purpose of communication and personal expression.

The following is a typical early example of a journal's dialogue-in-writing, showing the often wide range of topics and issues that surfaced out of our relationships and which were given focus in writing activities. As well, this example points to some of the problems inherent in daily journal writing:

> (me): You and Michael have been friends for a long time. Do you quarrel often? Isn't it interesting how good friends can have terrible fights and become even better friends afterwards!
>
> I enjoyed your company yesterday, as did Miss Edmonds. You are continuing to gain my respect and I appreciate your help--I'm still new over here (in England) and find it difficult, often, to work with the people here. That makes your cooperation rather important to me.
>
> What do you intend to do when you are through school, Ricky? (Do you have any plans or dreams?)
>
> What did you think of the play we went to yesterday? (And meeting Alan Bates and his back-stage crew?)
>
> -me
>
> P.S. I understand you took some pictures with Miss Edmonds--what pictures did you take? (Are you interested in photography as a hobby, by the way?)
>
> ---
>
> Yesterday I enjoyed myself and it was good to meet Alan Baites, I wanted to me the others. but I supposed it. was a bit to much for them to come down, Mr.s Edmonds asked if I wanted to take any pictures so I took 3 the first was of a man getting into the Taxi and there was an old lady walking across the road and I took it, and the last one was a man with a green hat coming towards us. So I took it, Michael and myself are friends but the other day we had an arguement. So I gave Michaelal a last chance to be my friend so he accepted it, Michael enjoyed it a bit better than myself because I dont really like them kind of plays but it was not bad afterwards I arrived home at about 705 pm because. I went arrounds Micheals for a cup of tea and some chips I bought them on the way to Micheals, This morning took some pictures in photography I went down bruce grove I dont mind photography. -Ricky

For some of the boys, the barrage of questions and statements I directed here to Ricky were overwhelming, and I found that I had to stick with single questions or statements or run the risk of being ignored altogether.

Some of the boys ferreted through my writing and often chose to respond only to some of what I had said or asked. Others attempted to deal with everything, or even changed the topic altogether by introducing their own questions or issues without addressing mine at all. In all, there was an essential freedom to the writing that took the boys time to learn to exploit, but as we progressed, I found that I had to vertly direct the conversations less and less.

The nature of my responses or questions depended, of course, on which boy I was writing to. For example, Rob had more of an influence on the nature and direction of the entries by virtue of his ability to initiate discussion, as shown in this excerpt from a rather long exchange between us:

> You describe school as an uneventful time in your life: Do you feel that school is only worthwhile in the academic sense? What about socially? -me
>
> ---
>
> School is a very worthwhile experience academically, but I dont know about socially. I was always a damn sight happier about making friends in my own way rather than being forced to be friendly with every boy in my class at school. I believe that schools force you to mix with people who you do not really like. Please give me your comments about friendship. This can be a very delicate subject. I think that homosexuality should be outlawed. I'm sure your opinion could be different. After all, if the whole world was homosexual than their would not be a world! -Rob

The journal dialogues were also useful in discussing matters relating to novels or short stories we had read together and discussed as a group, as this example from Ricky's journal shows:

> George should have killed lennie in a more of a way to let the men see hm kill lennie but he done it his way but he should have let lennie run away to the mountains but either way lennie was going to be killed. -Ricky
>
> ---
>
> Ricky, why do you feel George should have let the others see him kill Lenny? That is an interesting point and I would like you to explain it to me further. Do you think, then, that George was guilty of murdering Lenny because of the way he did it? -me

The journals were an interesting and productive activity for both the boys and myself. Initially, however, they were also difficult to write, for they were bound to reflect much mutual uncertainty, both with one another and the particular use of the writing system. The examples shown above reflect, particularly, the development of my own responses to the situation, moving

from an apparent awkwardness and certain anxiety about the process and my own role in it, to an increased willingness to engage each boy on his own terms as well as mine. Initially, I tended to simply ask a lot of questions in each exchange, responding to my own predetermined assumptions about what the boys would want to talk about. As I began to deal with what they actually were talking about, the result was a more relaxed approach to the writing and a more rigorous and stimulating exploration of issues, theirs and mine.

The Canada-Trip Project

I found that the exclusive use of journals was an inadequate vehicle for the potential variety of purposes available to a writer. As well, I felt that I was an inappropriately restrictive audience for the boys and therefore undertook with them to find a way of extending the range of writing functions and audiences. At the prompting of one of the boys, I initiated a project which, although somewhat ambitious-seeming, would thrust us individually and collectively into a stimulating and genuine series of writing-mediated activities. I had had previous experience with such group projects, so felt confident about embarking on yet another.

As we eventually conceived of it, the project was to undertake the raising of over $5,000.00 to finance a trip to Western Canada, my permanent home, where I could involve the boys in a host of winter and countryside activities familiar to me but entirely alien to them. The trip, the group's culminating activity, would stimulate a wealth of writing activities to a wide range of known and unknown people. Thus, each boy wrote several letters and various documents to a wide variety of persons explaining his intentions of going to Canada and requesting financial assistance and information.

Included in these activities was the establishing and maintaining of Canadian pen-pals with whom it was hoped that billetting could be arranged. My principal task in the whole matter was to orchestrate their attempts, assist them with their writing problems, and organize the specifics of our Canada-side activities.

The project took considerable time. However, the return in terms of my research intentions was considerable, for I made contact with the boys and their community and families in ways I had not anticipated would be possible within the constraints of time and resources available to me. The amount of writing undertaken without complaint was particularly impressive, exceeding my wildest hopes. One boy, who had never left his community and whose writing history was almost entirely of copied notes and terse statements, wrote a

20,000 word trip journal over a period of 21 days. Following is the first entry which was made shortly after take-off on the way to Canada:

> When I left my mum she was a little bit depressed because I do alot of work and help my nan in anyway. So on my own I walked to school carrying my luggage. I met all the others at the school at 10 o clock we took some photoes off us I just wanted to go so we went it took one and a half hours to get there (with) all the other paretns We had to go through the customs they check our passports, border passes. our luggage, after Mr. _____ broght me something to eat at a sort of a cafe after we went through got on the plane (I said to myself this is going to be the first time ever when I'm going to miss my friends and mum and dad, brother, I felt a bit sorry but I deserve a holiday I said the work and worrying I do....
> When Im about two thousand miles away from where I been the furthest it makes me think that I'm going to meet other people from around the wourld it is strange for me because I've never been outside London before but first time on a trip I'm very excited meeting people making more friends, outside England and you get a feeling where your missing your relatives and friends and other things from England and around the wourld....First day on the plane and its been really good. -Chris

In all, their writing in connection with the trip served as a counterfoil to the journals, enabling me to make a wider range of observations about Sense of Audience as they wrote to government officials, movie actors, business people, and distant strangers.

Ultimately the project was successful and the Canada Trip was undertaken in the last three weeks of the study's sixteenth month. And while the details of the trip are not in themselves of direct relevance here, it should be emphasized that the undertaking affected all the boys in ways that were clearly manifested in much of their writing, particularly as it regarded Sense of Audience. Some of the most telling pieces of writing were the letters written to their pen-pals before and after they had met and stayed together, for example. And one interesting consequence was that upon returning to London, the boys for the first time denied me access to their personal letters, a new condition I took as an indication of their becoming real writers. I accepted their rejection with grace and a grin.

Thus, the value of the trip was realized in a very real sense through the accomplishments of their own writing. It was a means of introducing them to a new world of people, ideas, values, and to an entirely new sense of purpose for and affinity with their own written language. And, as a footnote, they continue at this time to write to their Canadian counterparts, including myself, and some of their pen-pal/hosts have since travelled to London as guests of the boys and their families, (a first for the parents as well as the boys).

The Case Studies and Analytical Criteria

While space does not permit me to present eight case studies, I should outline briefly what my procedure was in developing them as they appeared in the original work.

Throughout my time with the boys and in all the contexts in which I participated and/or observed them, I took careful notes both on a general subjective level, and on a number of special criteria, namely:

1. Their social behavior with peers, teachers, family, and strangers; in new situations and in familiar ones;
2. Their language behavior and demonstrated competence in social situations as described above;
3. Changes in their journal and other writing activities over the period of 17 months.

I focussed on three writing-related categories which I felt could incorporate the universal and traditional concerns of class-room teachers and which would yield an abundance of observations useful to the theoretical researcher. These categories were:

1. Mastery of the Writing System (the established set of structured conventions such as punctuation and paragraphing intended to compensate for the loss of speech devices);
2. Written language functions (as developed and used by James Britton);
3. Content (based on the assumption that the specific content to which an individual applies the system will have a significant bearing on what he does with his writing and on what conclusions about his writing development a researcher may draw).

Within the parameters described by the above general categories, I defined five specific areas which encompassed features of writing most likely to be subjected to the influence of Sense of Audience:

1. Development in Expansiveness of Content: subject-focus; direct and implicit recognition of audience needs (as indicated in part by parenthetical explanations, direct audience references, allusions to shared contexts); fluidity of content development (use of transitional devices, logical inter-relatedness of ideas).
2. Development of Intention to Use Writing as an Authentic Means of Personal Expression: dissatisfaction with distractions furing writing; concerns for neatness, appearance (legibility and aesthetics of presentation); interest in editing; demands for response; appropriateness and range of tone, style, and voice; concern for completeness and demands for sufficient time; shifts in physical posture when engaging in writing; demands for special equipment and for suitable writing locations.
3. Development of the Ease with which Writing Tasks are Undertaken: improvement in image of Self-as-Writer (readiness and willingness to use writing, preparedness, personal manner); beginning processes; disappearance of talk-for-writing; improvements in hand-writing, paper condition, margin-doodling.

4. Development of Appropriate Levels of Language Convergence in Writing: development of lexicon (or demand for assistance with it); responsiveness to increased range of demands by reader/interlocutor; appropriate changes in tone, style, voice, and format; readiness to take up increased range of issues, reluctance to attempt maximum convergence at the expense of control, fluidity, and personal style.
5. Development of the Awareness of Need for Improvement in Mechanics, Construction, and Organization of the Whole Piece: unwillingness to send out writing that is not error-free; explicit requests for assistance with spelling, grammar, syntax, format; on-going editing.

Conclusions

Seven conclusions relating directly to each of the three categories mentioned above were reached and expressed in the following way:

1. Sense of Audience had the effect of directing the subjects' dependance away from individually devised, inconsistent, and confusing 'trusted strategems' (Shaughnessy, 1977), to a willingness to learn conventional strategies more consistent with the needs and demands of language-mediated social interaction through writing;

2. Expressive written language served as a highly effective linguistic means through which the subjects appeared to assimilate an interlocutor as an Enabling Sense of Audience;

3. Sense of Audience influenced the writers to draw on their Expressive Language to serve those languge functions which demanded more conventional and rigorous structuring;
   a) Sense of Audience thereby provided a greater range of content, apparent depth of thought, and ease of production in the transactional and poetic functions;
   b) Sense of Audience thereby reduced the incidence of dummy-runs in the transactional and poetic functions;
4. Sense of Audience encouraged the writers to interrelate the entire range of language functions, particularly in first-drafts, by implicitly enabling and encouraging experimentation;

5. Sense of Audience enhanced the fluency of the writing by enabling a sense of two-way language convergence that paralleled the subjects' oral language situations;

6. Sense of Audience fostered the subjects' individual interests in extending their language-use to and improving the use of other written language functions;

7. Sense of Audience promoted and strengthened the inter-relationships between the Expressive Language function and content incorporation necessary to the process of Authentic Communication.

Discussion

Sense of Audience

In general, Sense of Audience was the means by which the artificially separated components of writing were brought into inter-relationship. Choice of content, for example, affected decisions concerning language function, and the degree of care, experimentation, or suspended concern that was shown for mechanics and conventions. That is, Sense of Audience was the primary factor which prompted the individual writer to effect a decision regarding one component of the writing system and which in turn affected decisions or performance in terms of the others. The basis for the decisions, which seemed to be conscious ones in the first stages of the study and more intuitive as it proceeded, concerned the nature of the relationship between the audience and writer that writing, rather than speech, was being called upon to mediate and develop.

The important thing here is that the writers' perceptions about their audience (that I was a genuine partner in the dialogue, for example) affected the emergence of Authentic Communication which seemed to serve, in turn, to assist them when involved in subsequent writing to strangers and for a variety of purposes. The importance of Authentic Communication between individuals, whether in writing or in speech, is surely a highly significant matter that may have been ignored in the schools in light of the importance placed on performance. Research has also ignored it, likely because of the emphasis researchers have long placed on the surface features of written products on the one hand, and the preponderance of decontextualized research designs on the other. The evolution of Authentic Communication from the development of an Enabling Sense of Audience in this study is therefore an essential testament to the influence of Sense of Audience on writing processes.

Interventionist Case Study

The Interventionist Case Study approach was especially relevant to research on writing processes. I found that, far from interfering with or restricting my research teasks, my adoption of the role of teacher meant that I had far greater access than is normal in research endeavors to those features of the subjects' school and personal context that had an effect on their writing processes. Amongst many other things, this approach clearly showed that there are so many variables involved in the writing process, that

piecemeal control of discrete variables is likely only to dissolve the cohesion between process elements vital to the production of meaningful language use. The intention of this Interventionist Case Study approach was to ensure that all the elements necessary to language use would be in effect as a unit, an intention fulfilled largely through the use of journals and the development of Authentic Communication.

The Use of Journals. Journals may be used in as many ways as one has imagination to devise. My use of dialogues-in-writing within the journals was but one particularly useful means by which to establish contact with my subjects and to involve them in an immediately useful, credible process of language. Dialogues-in-writing served to provide a bridge between the direct give and take of oral language and the inner dialogues a mature writer may employ. That is, it was a primary means for me to ensure and monitor the assimilation of a Sense of Audience for the subjects' writing. In this regard, dialogues-in-writing set up the subjects' expectations for the dynamism that is intrinsic to effective, mature writing processes once the internalization of Sense of Audience has been achieved. They effectively encouraged and enabled the subject to view writing as dynamic and interactive rather than autonomous and static in nature; they fostered the development of two-way language convergence between teacher and student that made the student/subjects' subsequent language exploration more appealing and likely.

Student/Teacher Relationships. Perhaps the most sinister and immediately important discovery of this study was that none of the boys construed their respective teachers as genuine readers or, therefore, in the context of written communication, as real people with whom they were making contact through writing. It was not that they viewed their teachers simply as 'public audiences' and therefore merely representative of others, but more seriously, that they could not construe them as human participants in the writing activity at all. It was clear that the boys had not been encouraged, over some 10-11 years of school, to think of themselves as writers, but only always as practicing writers. That seemed to lead to their notion that their teachers were then not real readers of their work and therefore not real people in their role. Since the writing was not authentic, in anybody's eyes, neither were its component parts , which included the teacher/readers.

This situation was not contrived by the teachers. On the contrary, they were clearly and industriously attemtping to involve their students in a worthwhile and productive activity. What they seemed to be unaware of was the potential value of their personal participation as genuine readers of the boys' ideas, thoughts, and feelings--the importance of a writer having a justified sense of there being somebody at the other end. 'Examiners' clearly did not count as somebody; 'dry run' writing assignments did not count as genuine communication; practicing writers were not the same as 'real writers'. The overall effect was the boys' dissatisfaction with written language and the consequent indifference to whether they really mastered it or not beyond the immediate concerns of achieving passing grades.

Implications of the Study

This was a very complex study and its implications are numerous and far-reaching, but a thorough exploration/elaboration is impossible here. In general, though, the study generates three separate and readily apparent implications for the classroom teacher, primarily in terms of Sense of Audience:

1. By virtue of their pervasiveness in a student's writing experience, teachers constitute a significant proportion of a student's assimilated Sense of Audience construct as it affects the particular demands of school writing;

2. Any individual teacher is likely to have an effect on the quality of an individual student's general Sense of Audience as he becomes specifically invorporated within that general construct;

3. The individual teacher may effect a significant measure of control over the way he is construed as an audience and thereby over the nature of the student's developed Sense of Audience.

These implications are relevant, clearly, to both practicing teachers and to teacher-training institutions. The integrating theme of these implications is that a teacher's manner of approach to his students and their work matters as much, at least, as his methods, his curriculum, and his materials to the success of his students' writing development.

Another implication related to Sense of Audience is the special importance of Expressive Language in learning and language development. However, as this study shows, Expressive Language is effective only when it is operating

as a partner with its associated elements of Enabling Sense of Audience and personal content. Teachers endeavoring to foster their students' skills by simply making assignments that demand or enable Expressive Language without an understanding of its dependent nature on other features of the writing/social process, are apt to be disappointed with the results and suspicious of the claims Britton and others make about it.

Finally, the implication for teacher-based research is straight-forward: the classroom teacher has access,potentially, to more data than any external researcher may observe or even be aware of The teacher-as-researcher role is rich in its possibilities and hitherto virtually entirely unexplored.

Recommendations

Research Approaches

Of the several recommendations I made in this study, the following is perhaps the most essential:

> In conclusion, I must strongly recommend that subsequent research on language use in schools be attempted in ways that parallel the teacher-based research approach of this study. It is clearly an effective and rewarding approach which yet requires considerable systematizing, elaboration, and exploration if it is to realize its potential relevance to both theory and practice.

The Nature of Writing

The following areas of concern and interest were only briefly touched upon in this study and warrant closer attention in subsequent research:

1. The careful tracing of movement from expressive writing, as employed in journals, to specific other functions;

2. The exploration of parallels between syntax in general and pauses in particular that might exist between an individual's casual oral and expressive written language on the one hand, and his formal oral and transactional written on the other;

3. A detailed exploration of the similarities and differences between content and fluency in the oral and written mode for the same individual would be an important consideration that might well point to special ways in which writing may be used to serve the needs and interests of individual students. Particularly in light of the demands for fluency and incorporation of impersonal content by teachers, this matter warrants serious consideration.

4Matching student expectations gained from their oral language use to the capacity or incapacity of the written system to fulfill

extend, or modify them, and to the extent to which the schools anticipate and incorporate them within the framework of teaching methods.

Sense of Audience

Finally, although I associated and discussed much of my research with other teachers in the school, I did not undertake to make detailed comparisons of development of my subjects' writing in my class with that of their development in their other classes, an omission which I regretted but could do little about within the framework of this study. Nevertheless, it was apparent to me at several points that such an undertaking would have proven most interesting and rewarding.

From general discussions about some of the boys with their other English teachers, it seemed to me that little transfer between their writing development in my class was being realized in their other classes. This has interesting and serious implications, but it would require a sensitive and complex research operation to search out and articulate the reasons why transference might not be occuring in such a situation. It may be that in young writers an Inhibiting Sense of Audience may effectively cancel out the effects an Enabling Sense of Audience might be yielding in another situation. This would point to the need for a 'Language Across the Curriculum' policy in schools. It may be, on the other hand, that it takes longer for the advantages of a developed Sense of Audience to manifest itself elsewhere, particularly where teaching practices do not directly attempt to take account of Sense of Audience. In any case, this is clearly an interesting and profitable direction for subsequent research on Sense of Audience.

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